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WAR & PEACE *IN THE BALANCE*

Scared allies watch Washington's moves

By Tabitha Petran

THE Western world, summoned by Washington on the eve of the Geneva conference to "united action," was "scared, baffled and disunited" (N.Y. **World-Telegram**, 4/1). In the wake of U.S. H-bomb tests, the **Christian Science Monitor** (4/2) saw spreading round the world "a dangerous cloud radioactive with potential hate." International anxiety was attributed by the N.Y. **Times** (4/4) not only to the bomb's destructive power but to "doubts about U.S. leadership and responsibility . . . lack of faith in U.S. policy, particularly as there had been no such reaction at the time of the Soviet H-bomb announcement." Peking's **People's Daily** saw Washington as "afraid of negotiations, afraid of peace, afraid of the Geneva conference."

RELAX!

"With the H-Bomb, of course, more people are going to get killed. It can't be helped. So there's nothing to get excited about."

Lt. Gen. C. R. Huebner,
Civil Defense Director,
State of New York
(N.Y. **World-Telegram**, 3/2/54)

In face of the threats and explosions, the socialist world approached Geneva soberly but calmly. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov thus evaluated what use of A- and H-bombs would bring to all mankind:

> "Untold suffering . . . wholesale annihilation of civilians . . . destruction of big cities, the centers of present-day industry, culture and science."

At the same time the Soviet army's **Red Star** wrote of the peace-time potentialities of thermonuclear energy:

> "The brilliant discovery of the real way of receiving energy from the thermonuclear reaction with hydrogen, made by Soviet scientists, opens before humanity prospects of mastering such forces of nature and a growth of productivity immeasurably

(Continued on Page 4)

Photo by Fred Wright

HIGHLIGHTS IN THIS WEEK'S GUARDIAN

The facts on the Indo-China war — Page 3

Rosenberg children guardians named — Page 5

What the Caracas conference means — Page 7

PLEASE DON'T!

The GUARDIAN published this photo on p. 1 of the Feb. 8, 1950, issue. The accompanying story was headlined: H-Bomb: Deadly Parallel—Will We Yield to Hitler-Style Fear Assault. The story reported that President Truman the week before had given the green light to production of the H-Bomb. The fruits of that decision will be harvested by Grim Reaper Dulles if the American people do not cry halt. For what you can do, see p. 3.

Cannot this paralyzed nation awake?

By W. E. B. DuBois

THERE is today no Peace movement in the United States. No voices of the great are rising in warning nor protest; few writers, few thinkers, few teachers, few preachers. The nation, literally paralyzed with fear, is cringing beneath the leadership of the man who in the front trenches with a spy-glass began the nasty war in Korea.

We face the greatest threat to peace and civilization which this world ever knew. With billions of taxes torn from the poor and threatening our economy with disaster, we are tearing up earth and seas with the most horrible instruments of destruction and murder of which mankind ever dreamed. We are doing this deliberately in the face of spiritual disaster; of government-organized lying; of nation-wide gambling and stealing; with the collapse of our schools and widening crime of our children; with thousands of our young men ruined in body and soul by three wars; with the fatal growth and uncurbed power of our industry, until the Oil Institute replaces the Cotton Kingdom of slavery and the Sugar Empire of the buccaneers.

CANNOT this paralyzed nation awake? Can we not have a great national Peace Congress? Can we not revive the great Stockholm Appeal—the finest word of our century, which two and a half million Americans once signed and five million were ready to sign when Dean Acheson lied them into silence?

Even if the nation is convinced that half the world today threatens us, how do wise and good people treat enemies? Do they follow Jesus Christ and love them, or Nixon and shoot straight at red rats? Which method in the past has brought peace and progress? In fact, today few nations fear the Soviet Union; all fear the United States, which spends billions for bombs and not one cent for peace.

SHALL Gandhi plan our future, or McCarthy? Can we possibly deny that some of the greatest of men of our era have been Socialists and Communists? Today there is no statesman speaking who is the equal of Molotov. The record of Socialists and Communists is no worse than that of the Christian Church, Big Business or modern Democracy. Human history is, to be sure, a tale told by an idiot—but still the world has progressed, and will progress, if we consult each other in peace and good will and cease to rely on threat, insult and brute force.

Let us return to common sense. Let us save our employment and wage by trade with China and the eastern democracies. Let us appeal to reason. Let this nation drop its alliance with the worst forces of colonial imperialism; cease its war for the rice, tin and rubber of Indo-China, erase the color line, recognize China and admit Hawaii and join in a new and great Peace Crusade. Awake all cowards, scream all women, stand up and be counted all real men!

W. E. B. DuBois

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THE MAIL BAG

Who's nuts?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The N.Y. Herald Tribune's Mae R. Johnson reports from Tokyo that after the March 1 explosion "the populace was afraid to eat fish, one of its chief dietary staples, and the Cabinet had to take steps to try to reassure the people. Stores and restaurants were begging for customers." In the next paragraph Johnson says "the U.S. Army, over its radio network, warned service men not to eat fish in public places."

Question: Is someone crazy, and if so is it the Japanese populace or the U.S. Army?

Frances Forman

Tuna and Geigers

BRONX, N.Y.

Enclosed is a duplicate of a letter I sent the President:

"Dear Mr. President:

"I have been very much disturned by the March H-Bomb explosions in the Pacific. This bomb is comparable to the Frankenstein monster. If we don't do away with it, it will eventually destroy us. The bomb has already severely burnt 23 seamen, contaminated a shipload of food and destroyed an island. My wife has stocked up on tuna fish because we don't have a Geiger counter at home to test future purchases, and we don't want ourselves or child contaminated by radioactive food. I urge you to use your influence to stop any further explosions."

Bernard Saltzman

O.K., you eat it

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A clipping from your March 29 issue has come to the attention of the writer. We would like to lodge our vehement protests at the sensational manner in which you have handled this radiation problem in Japan.

Your inference that Canned Tuna Fish from Japan is radio active is complete and uttter nonsense, and we are certain no responsible publication will make such an irresponsible statement.

As one of the leading importers of Canned Japanese Tuna Fish, we can say without qualification that Japanese Government authorities have taken all necessary steps to prevent the canning and shipping of any questionable Tuna.

George Zeppos
Blen Trading Co., Inc.

Bob Considine reported in the N.Y. Journal American (3/30): "One large American canned goods firm has informed the State Dept. it will not buy or pack any more Japanese tuna until further notice, Geiger counter tests or not. Ed.

How crazy can you get dept.

An Air Force psychiatrist said today that Air Force pilots stricken with "fear of flying" have been found to be suffering from "personal frustrations, conflicts and disturbed emotional relationships." Col. L. E Gatto, psychiatry consultant to Far East forces, said a 30-month study of more than 100 pilots in Korea and other Far East bases showed that their trouble had little to do with any fear of being maimed or killed in combat.

—Washington dispatch in N.Y. Herald Tribune (European edition), April 1.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: J.E.H., London.

Anglo-Saxon charcoal

SEATTLE WASH.

The more perfect become the atomic and hydrogen experiments for war, the more complete become international annihilation and extermination for the Anglo-Saxon race. There can be no victory. Just charcoal. G. P.

The heinous crimes

WORCESTER, MASS.

Sen. Wiley is opposed to admitting Red China into the UN. He told 5,000 Masons (3/25/54) that Red China is not only guilty of invading Korea, but "she is guilty of heinous acts against the conscience of the world. . . ." The able Senator seems to be a bit "mixed-up." He is accusing Red China of the very things the U.S. is guilty of. The U.S. "invaded Korea." We had no business there. North Korea had committed no "overt act" against the U.S. It was just a matter of Uncle Sam's long nose—so long that it reaches to the farthest corners of the world to poke into other nations' business. We used the first A-bomb—killing tens of thousands of innocent civilians. We used the most "heinous" weapon ever used in ordinary warfare, the napalm bomb. We burned, strafed, bombed villages, towns, cities, slaughtered noncombatants, women, children, aged. Our own GI's publicly accused us of using germ warfare. How about this, Sen. Wiley? Belmont Sumner

Freedom from courage

THOMASTON, CONN.

Joe Harrington in the Boston Post tells of a woman at a social gathering who, asked her opinion in a discussion of the national political situation, was chided by a man for refusing to give it. She snapped: "This is a free country—I can be afraid to talk if I want to." Austin M. Brown

Tribute to Durr

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Will you please convey my sincere appreciation to Clifford Durr for his patriotic and truly democratic stand in unmasking the paid informer and stoolpigeon, Paul Crouch. I think all decent Americans owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Durr in exposing this slimy sewer rat. I trust this will encourage other progressives to take a positive stand for peace, democracy and against fascist McCarthyism. Herman Katzen

Depression in Lawrence

LAWRENCE, MASS.

Thank you very much for not stopping the GUARDIAN from coming to my house, as I am so late in paying for my subscription. But we have been having a depression here in Lawrence for the last two years. Mills all shut down. No jobs anywhere. Tough all around. I almost had to hock my front teeth to get this $3. Blanche Shlakis

Franc Tireur, Paris

"What do you know about a certain Ike who was friendly with the Russians ten years ago?"

The yeggheads

TORRANCE, CALIF.

Despite Joe's wild assertions, I doubt if the Administration has been coddling "reds"; rather it is guilty of coddling yeggs—such as McCarthy. Dean Asilphets

How to change history

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I think the GUARDIAN has increased its value by the addition of its "Let Congress Know" corner. As a matter of fact I think this item is important enough to warrant a front page corner with bolder type heading.

I heard a public affairs woman who spends a good deal of time "on the Hill" characterize many of our lawmakers as confused and bewildered men who would be greatly helped and guided by the opinions and suggestions of their constituents. Instead of voicing our indignation or approval to our friends, let's tell it to our lawmakers. I firmly believe that if enough people wrote regularly, history would be changed. Paula Klinghoffer

Talons ready

CENTRAL CITY, PA.

I have four children and am living on $30 a week. I was laid off on Sept. 23. My taxes are piling up and the vultures are already hovering over my personal and private property with their talons ready to grasp whatever they can.

My 5-year-old boy asked me how to spell butter, which he had in spelling. I told him how, then the dear lad asked me what it was.

Paul Lenart

A place to go

SULLIVAN, MO.

Yesterday I received two letters from farmers in Oklahoma asking me if I knew of a political party in that state that an almost bankrupt farmer could vote for. The same day I receive a paper printed in Kansas City, Mo., that had two letters suggesting political parties that should be started for the unemployed or people with progressive ideas to vote for.

Mr. Baldwin, please get your address in the GUARDIAN so people can write to you. The people in the Midwest are becoming more militant. Give them aid.

L. B. England

You can write to C. B. Baldwin, Secy., Progressive Party, 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Ed.

Manny Bloch's voice

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We are taking this opportunity to thank you for the memorable and historic recording of the 5th Anniversary Banquet of the GUARDIAN. We have a large and outstanding record collection. However, this record is the closest to our heart for more than one reason: we have supported this indispensable newspaper since its beginning and it warms our hearts to see it grow.

As merciless fate wanted it, the voice of Mr Emmuel Bloch on this record was his last to be retained for ever. His passing is indeed a great loss to honest and decent humanity.

We will have a special evening for the GUARDIAN in the near future. Anselm and Nina Hammer

Dynamo in England

LONDON, ENGLAND

The GUARDIAN is not a newspaper. It is an Organization, a Driving Force, a Dynamo.

This was brought home to me once again on a recent visit to Birmingham, "the Pittsburgh of Great Britain." Because one wonderful gal had received a gift subscription to the GUARDIAN, Birmingham had a terrific Rosenberg campaign. (Of course she had to be the right sort of gal, with the right sort of people to call on, but the GUARDIAN gave the thing the right sort of start.)

A Loving Reader

Liverish lyrics

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

headline in local paper:

Death for Reds
Studied by Legislature
. . . Gov. Shivers has submitted communism control as one of the topics to be acted upon in the special session. . . .

Comment:

A wealthy young Texan named Shivers
Who in politics often just gibbers
Said: "I'd cut off the heads of all Texas Reds
If I knew what to do with their livers."

Incidentally, the local labor papers have made much of the fact that Gov. Shivers' Sharyland Farm, where President Eisenhower was a guest last October, has been discovered employing what the President has called "contraband" Mexican labor at less than 35c an hour, a violation of the international agreement. Name withheld

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"The most vital and urgent task today is to throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the war on want on the side of those two-thirds of the human race who still live in centuries-old poverty, but who are determined that it shall be ended. If we fail to understand and assist this world-wide social revolution it will, in the end, destroy us."—FENNER BROCKWAY, British MP.

REPORT TO READERS

Get the GBS habit!

"How use doth habit make."
—Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act V, Scene IV

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WE HAVE ALREADY SAVED 150 readers more than $25 each on the purchase of the two best portable typewriters on the market. This week (see p. 12) we are offering the best rotisserie-broiler at a saving of $25. There are items to suit any taste and need and for any gift occasion. For a more complete listing, write for FREE CATALOG.

So, get the Guardian Buying Service habit—you'll enjoy putting the time and money you save to good use. You can also do the GUARDIAN a favor by showing the Buying Service to your friends. They'll appreciate the savings and it's a good way to introduce them to the paper.

—GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

P.S. Recently we added an education toy department in answer to requests from readers who were disturbed by the lack of wholesome, constructive toys in their area. We welcome your suggestions on the kind of items you would like to see offered.

Let Congress know: The alternatives -- reconciliation, or holocaust

In the critical situation which the U.S. and the world face as we go to press, the editors are aware that thousands of GUARDIAN readers want to make their voices heard in Washington. This round-up of vital facts is presented to help make easier the formulation of your pleas for reconciliation and peace.

U.S.-BRITISH DISARMAMENT MOVE: Last week's move for new UN Disarmament Commission talks was only "an improvisation" to soften revulsion to the H-bomb tests, wrote Walter Lippmann (4/6); there is

> ". . . no indication that we are any nearer than we were to having a considered policy to talk about in the Disarmament Commission. The Soviet Union does have a policy to talk about and the time is almost over when we can oppose it successfully with . . . a few bits and pieces left over from a policy formulated eight years ago, when we still had an atomic monopoly."

THE BITS & PIECES: U.S. spokesmen outside UN have for years admitted that the Baruch Plan is "obsolete" and its inspection provisions would never be accepted by the U.S. itself. It called for international control and **ownership** (the latter rejected by Moscow) of atomic power plants. With the U.S.' "automatic majority" in UN, British physicist P. M. S. Blackett (**Fear, War & the Bomb**) called it a plan "to put the Soviet Union in a situation where she would have been subservient to a group of nations dominated by America."

SOVIET POLICY: First proposing (1946) a total, unconditional atomic ban, the U.S.S.R has modified its approach in an effort at compromise. It now calls for **a ban on use of atomic weapons,** under mutual pledges akin to the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning use of poison gas. It also insists on the necessity "that not some part but the whole mass of atomic materials be directed completely to peaceful aims." Last fall the U.S.S.R. called in the General Assembly for a world disarmament conference, cutting all armed forces by ⅓, condemning all war propaganda.

IKE'S POOL PLAN: Last December Eisenhower called for the starting of an international atomic pool for peace. Lippmann commented (12/10/53) that the U.S.'s "real policy" through the years of promoting the Baruch Plan had been that

> ". . . far from disarming, we intended to improve our atomic armaments. . . . [The Pool plan] abandons the pretense that we could or would renounce the mainstay of our military power."

IKE'S SPEECH: With "massive retaliation" now the U.S.'s declared policy, Eisenhower was careful in his speech last week not to say the U.S. would not use mass-destruction weapons. The week before, when asked if the U.S. intends to use the H-bomb, Defense Secy. Wilson said:

> "Don't you think it would be foolish to spend billions unless you are prepared to use them under some circumstances?"

Eisenhower said "we are not going to start a war," but would use the H-bomb "if they [the socialist world] would attack any of our nations or any part of our vital interests." A few hours before, Secy. Dulles had said China "is coming awfully close" to "aggression" in Indo-China calling for U.S. retaliation against China. Washington's definition of "aggression" apparently takes in social change and movements against imperialism.

STEPS TO PEACE: Finding in the Senate "a profound sense of resistance to U.S. intervention" in Indo-China, NYT's W. S. White (4/5) said this

> ". . . may weaken with the passage of time, under certain conditions, [one of which is that the Administration achieve] a good measure of success for [its] campaign to make the country see the peril in Southeast Asia. . . . [Democrats] suggest that Democratic voices will be needed in the Administration's educational campaign."

Faced with the possibility of nothing less than the destruction of civilization if this "educational campaign" succeeds and leads to H-bomb world war, a supreme effort for conciliation is demanded from all sane Americans. This means immediate action—by bringing weight especially on Congress—to:

- **Keep U.S. forces out of Indo-China.**
- **Move toward outlawing A- and H-bombs by immediate practical steps, such as: (1) Mutual agreement not to use them first; (2) Support of the House of Commons resolution for an immediate Eisenhower-Malenkov-Churchill meeting on arms reduction and control.**
- **Attend the Geneva conference with a real readiness for honest negotiation.**
- **Re-orient U.S. policy toward peaceful coexistence.**

As Joseph C. Harsch pointed out (**Christian Science Monitor,** 4/1):

> "Weapons of mass destruction are not used when political society accepts the concept of live and let live. They are used where the concept of coexistence is rejected. . . . One way of defining coexistence is the right of any political society to choose its own form of government."

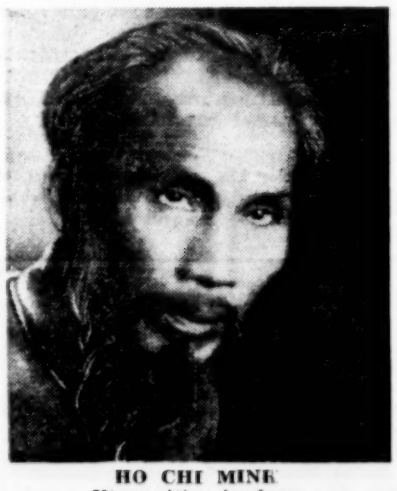
THE INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO COLONIALISM

Truth about the war in Indo-China

The Indo-China war, which Washington is desperately trying to "sell" to America, is beyond comparison the most lied-about conflict in which this country has ever been involved. Here are some facts to correct the lies about the military picture in Indo-China from 1945 until today.

THE VIET MINH ARMY: The army now described to Americans as "rebels" was organized underground during the World War II Japanese occupation; developed its guerrilla tactics by fighting the Japanese and clearing almost the whole of N. Indo-China; co-operated with Gen. Bill Donovan's OSS agents and saved the lives of many U.S. fliers parachuting from damaged planes.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT: In the fall and winter of 1945, U.S. and British ships transported "shiploads of French soldiers, many of them in American uniforms" (N.Y. **Times'** Foster Hailey in **Half of One World**) to Indo-Chinese ports, to help France recover her colony from the well-established and



HO CHI MINH
His position is clear

popular Ho Chi Minh government (which stated its willingness to stay within the French Union).

Not strong enough to defeat the Viet Minh, France signed an accord with Ho on March 6, 1946; broke it with an "atrocious massacre" of Indo-Chinese at Haiphong on Nov. 19, 1946 (Claude Bourdet in L'Observateur, 7/9/53); has continued the war ever since with mounting U.S. support.

CHINA INVOLVEMENT: The Viet Minh army received no aid from China until more than three years later. Marquis Childs reported (N.Y. **Post,** 3/31) that even now,

> ". . . one third of the Viet Minh troops are equipped with U.S. guns . . . another third . . . with French arms abandoned by [French] Vietnamese troops. The remaining third is an assorted lot . . . coming from Czechoslovakia. Communist aid to the Viet Minh is nothing like as much in volume as the aid being sent to the French from America."

The Viet Minh army has no planes; "so far not one Chinese soldier or one Russian MIG fighter plane has been found on Ho's side" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 2/6). The French, with millions of dollars' worth of aid, have "killed, wounded or burned by napalm bombs" hundreds of thousands of Indo-Chinese (**U.S. News,** 4/2); yet the Viet Minh controls most of Indo-China, has fought to a point where France would have given up but for U.S. insistence to continue the war.

UNWINNABLE WAR: In May, 1950, Max Werner wrote in the GUARDIAN:

> "In Indo-China, the military experience of the Chinese civil war is being convincingly confirmed and repeated. The military ability of the Indo-Chinese, came as a rude shock to the French. . . . What is happening in Indo-China . . . is more than a colonial revolution: **a change in the relationship of forces between Asia and Western Europe** is taking place. . . . 100,000 of Ho's first-line troops have the quality of a regular army. They are applying tactics of modern guerrilla warfare, adapted to terrain and combat conditions, yet they are already fighting in large units and have complete mastery of light weapons.
>
> "The Indo-Chinese troops have endurance, persistence and the fighting skill that precludes any earnest setback. They are wearing down the forces of the best French units, of N. African Arab troops and of the Foreign Legion with its primarily German cadres, to a degree which makes continuation of this campaign an unbearable burden . . . Paris knows this war cannot be won. . . . The colonial wars of 1950 are wars of suppression against modern revolutionary nationalism, and therefore they cannot succeed."

DIEN BIEN PHU: The other side's appraisal has been withheld from Americans: it is that the French, not the Viet Minh, are continuing the desperate battle to impress the forthcoming Geneva conference. In a cable to the London **Daily Worker** from Indo-China (3/31), Wilfred Burchett—remembered for his accurate reporting from Korea—called "a crude distortion" the French-U.S. attempt "to present the battle as a 'decisive action' launched by the Viet Minh." He said that French Gen. Navarre, as part of his "win-the-war" plan, dropped parachutists into Dienbienphu—far inside the Viet Minh-controlled area—on Nov. 20. They were to build a strong fortress from which reinforcements could be sent to the French strongholds of Laichau to the north and Phongsaly to the northwest in Laos. From Laichau forces could be withdrawn if necessary to Dienbienphu to launch a counteroffensive against the Laotian Liberation Army.

But the Viet Minh soon completely surrounded the whole area, cut off the 13 French battalions (except by air), captured Laichau by mid-December and Phongsaly by the end of February. With no military justification to maintain the fortress any longer, Navarre decided to sacrifice battalions for prestige at the Geneva conference. Since then Navarre's troops have been making desperate attempts—without success and with heavy casualties—to flee in any direction and through any points where they could pierce the Viet Minh chain of defenses.

HARRY SACHER

On April 5, by a 6-2 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court overruled the permanent disbarment of Harry Sacher from federal courts. Sacher's disbarment had been ordered by Federal Judge Carroll C. Hincks as the result of his defense of the Communist leaders in the 1949 Foley Sq. trial. Judge Harold Medina, the trial judge who called Sacher's manner belligerent, sentenced him to six months for contempt. The Supreme Court decision found Sacher guilty of nothing more than an "excess of zeal for his clients." Sacher has continued to practice in federal courts pending his appeal; a similar action, instituted in the state courts, was held in abeyance until the Supreme Court handed in its decision. Sacher's only comment: "I am profoundly grateful."

Save Walter Lee Irvin's life!

WALTER LEE IRVIN, now 27, was accused with three other Negro youths on the night of July 6, 1949, of raping a white farm wife. The evidence was flimsy. One of the four—Ernest Thompson—was shot to death by a sheriff's posse. Irvin, Charles Greenlee and Samuel Shepherd were tried by an all-white male jury; Irvin and Shepherd were sentenced to death and Greenlee, only 16, to life on a prison farm.

NAACP attorneys appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on grounds that the youths were deprived of rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution's equal-protection clause and by the Florida Declaration of Rights. The court ordered a new trial. On a lonely road in the middle of the night the sheriff, taking Shepherd and Irvin back from prison for a retrial, shot Shepherd dead and badly wounded Irvin. Irvin had barely recovered when he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to death again.

The NAACP again appealed on the same basis. But the Supreme Court this time refused a hearing and rejected an appeal to reconsider its refusal. The Florida Parole Board on March 23 rejected a clemency plea.

Gov. Charley Johns has not yet set the execution date. Write or wire him, State Capitol, Talahassee, Fla., to commute Irvin's sentence.

War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

greater than anything yet known in the field of energetics."

APRIL FOOL? Continuing its peace initiative, the U.S.S.R. modified its proposed all-European Security Treaty (designed to end antagonistic military blocs) to meet major Western objections voiced at Berlin: the exclusion of the U.S., and the role of NATO. In a note (4/1) Molotov saw no obstacles to U.S. participation, suggested the West's only way to prove NATO is "defensive" is to let the U.S.S.R. join.

Washington called this proposal an "April Fool's joke," but **CSM** (4/2) saw it as a deft move with "possibly very serious effectiveness . . . one of the most shrewd and skillfully timed [Kremlin] moves . . . in recent years." **NYT** (4/2) said that in Paris, officials admitted it "had made some impression on the National Assembly" and its rejection "would require some explaining for the Western public"; in W. Germany it was "taken far more seriously than in Washington"; in London, Washington's "unilateral" rejection "encouraged mounting criticism of this country's 'inferior' position in the alliance."

To most sober observers around the world it looked like another concrete demonstration—on top of Moscow moves for expanded East-West trade, its initiative at Berlin and for Geneva—that the Soviet goal is peaceful coexistence. In Moscow, reported **NYT**'s Harrison Salisbury (4/2), the most respected Western analysts of Soviet policy were convinced that "Russia wants to bring the 'cold war' to an end, the sooner, the better. . . ."

VASSALS: The H-bomb explosions had consequences perhaps unforeseen: they had thrown into relief the contrast between Western and socialist world goals and shown where real strength and unity lie. They underlined both the need and the opportunity to change Western policy before it collapsed into the ultimate bankruptcy of war. In the deepening crises of Western policy, these factors stood out more sharply:

• The vassal status to which allied governments have been reduced.

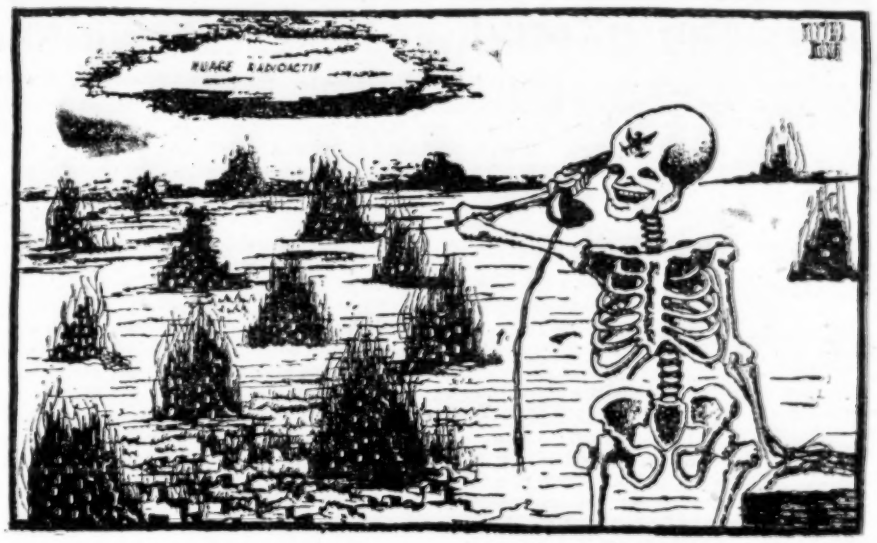
Winston Churchill suffered his "supreme humiliation" (**CSM**, 4/2) when he was forced to admit Washington had denied him any information about

Franc-Tireur, Paris

"We need an anti-noise law."

the H-bomb tests or their results. While some of the British press blamed his "poor showing" on age, Churchill pointed to the heart of the matter when he said: "We have no power to stop this." The tearful admission came 8 years and 24 days after his Fulton, Mo., speech which officially launched the "cold war" as the road to revival of Britain's imperial power; one week after the Prime Minister, seeking to quiet mounting fears about Washington's "massive retaliation" policy, assured MP's he had "smooth and friendly" arrangements for consultation with it on use of A-bombs in war.

Washington's "severe rebuff" to Churchill, coupled with his refusal to state that the U.S. does not have A-bombs in Britain (the Japanese government also refused to answer this question), had shown the meaninglessness of such "arrangements." Angry popular reaction forced Washington to agree to a meeting of the UN Disarmament Commission (where it has consistently used its voting majority to block any real negotiations on atomic control), and to supply Churchill with some H-bomb facts enabling him to ride out the storm. But these gestures could not again draw a veil over the real nature of the U.S.-British "partnership"; its unmasking would help the rank-and-file Labour fight for British independence.



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

"Hello? Okay—continue the experiment."

• Washington's "arrogance . . . irresponsibility."

These words were used by Labour MP John Baird in demanding that U.S. forces withdraw from Britain unless the U.S. negotiates with the U.S.S.R. on atomic weapons. The "arrogance" was evident in Washington's determination to continue the tests, in face of worldwide protest and their real possibility of injuring human lives, minds and ways of living. But it was in Asia—where high Indian officials used the word "barbarians" (**NYT**, 4/4), and India's Nehru voiced Asia's concern at being "always nearer these occurrences and experiments and their fearsome consequences"—that the U.S. attitude was most resented.

When Washington refused to give information sought about the bomb to simplify and speed treatment of fishermen victims, Japanese scientists were so angered that they thereafter refused to ask any American help. Similar refusal to express official regret, and official attempts to discount injuries to tht fishermen, roused further ire.

Half the world's population live in the area of Asia south of the U.S.S.R. and east of Iran—the "uncommitted peoples" whom Secy. Dulles is trying to win by his "policy of strength" in Indo-China (James Reston, **NYT**, 4/4). In that area there is, said **CSM** (3/31),

> ". . . a tendency to link Mr. Dulles with the H-bomb . . . [Asians think] apprehensively about future U.S. strategy. . . . Nations in this rich strategic area feel that history has destined them to coexist with Communism and they submit the U.S. is in the same position."

"LACKING THE POWER . . .": Day by day the delusions of Washington's policy were becoming more manifest. The threat to expand the Indo-China war ran counter to the tide of national opinion in Asia, in all allied countries (except Formosa and S. Korea), and in the U.S. as well. The **New Republic** (4/5) commented:

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Considering all things, darling, I've come to the conclusion that smoking's worth the risk."

> "Lacking the military and political power to enforce his demands on France, China or even the Viet Minh, he [Dulles] calls on the Communists in Indo-China to 'cease and desist.' That is not a policy. It is not even a sound appraisal of conditions in Southeast Asia."

The March explosions were admittedly designed among other things to frighten Washington's "free world" partners into support for such new adventures, to "recover its leadership." But the worldwide revulsion showed that Washington's every step deepens its dilemmas, takes it further into bankruptcy. Indications of what may lie at the end of the road down which it is marching were visible in such factually barren articles as Newsweek's (4/5) purporting to show that the U.S.S.R.—ringed as it is with U.S. atom bases—is far more vulnerable to H-bombs than the U.S. Similar indications, similarly bankrupt from any realistic military viewpoint, were "reassuring" editorials on "the U.S. lead" (while other press accounts said the U.S. is only now catching up with the U.S.S.R.'s technological lead demonstrated last August).

SUPER-HOAX: While the President and Atty. Gen. Brownell sought to whip up new anti-communist hysteria, the emphasis in the U.S. was on the "taking out" of whole cities, mass evacuations, calculations of disaster. Yet as Walter Millis (4/4) commented in pointing this out:

> "Almost no one seems to have paid any attention to the chances that such an assault would ever be made."

It could not but be concluded that Washington was deliberately trying to prevent Americans and others from paying attention to this question—as, according to the Alsops (4/2), it is deliberately deceiving the people by hiding "the truth about the Soviet hydrogen bomb and atomic stockpiles." If the question were considered, it would lead to realization (Millis) that

> ". . . the best defense against the nuclear terrors . . . overwhelmingly lies in political and diplomatic policies consciously directed toward the prevention of any serious war situation arising."

HAD ENOUGH? All over the world protests rose against Washington's policies as leading not to the prevention of war but to the use of war, the threat of war and of H-bombs, to achieve domination. In Japan, parliament demanded international control of atomic energy; in Britain a Labour resolution demanding top-level talks with Russia on A- and H-bomb control passed Commons unanimously. (But Labour agreed to let Churchill, who had already said now was not the time, decide when to initiate the talks). Nehru's call for a stand-still agreement, until UN control is achieved, won support in many countries. In the U.S., a small flood of letters to newspapers and Congressmen to stop the tests had begun.

The protests added up to a conviction everywhere that the threat of the H-bomb to mankind is not something beyond the capacity of people operating politically to control. The danger remained that world—and especially American—protest might be dissipated in fear, hopelessness and hysteria. The road-signs showed that this could only be avoided by intelligent direction of the protest to the possible, if difficult, task of changing the policies of Washington's bankrupt, anguished crusaders and their vassal governments.

★

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U.S.S.R.: prices down again

For the sixth year in succession, the Soviet government March 31 announced a long list of spring price cuts. Affected this year are 71 categories of consumer goods. Sample cuts: gasoline, 44%; kerosene, 38%; food items, including bread, tea and salt, 10-15%; household goods, 15-20%; clothing and textiles, including cotton yard goods, rayon and silk, 10-20%; nylon stockings, 25%; shoes, 7%; perfume, 10%; toys, 15%; building materials, 10-30%.

The **N.Y. Times** (4/1) reported that while 1953 price cuts saved Soviet consumers an estimated $13¼ billion, this year's cuts would save approximately $20 billion. **NYT**'s special writer on the U.S.S.R., Harry Schwartz, commented:

> "The much smaller number of price cuts announced yesterday compared with the April, 1953, reductions appears to reflect the inadequacy of Soviet Government food and consumer goods supplies."

The Church should look ahead

On Aug. 6, 1945, the aeroplane which was to carry the first atomic war weapon set out from its base. Before it took off it received the blessing of the Christian Church. . . . The destination was Hiroshima, a town of some 400,000 people, [of whom] 247,000 died. . . . There were little girls of five . . . babies still being nursed . . . boys and girls at school . . . women . . . doubtless some children in the womb, but these are not registered in the result.

This was the "nominal" atom bomb. On March 1, 1954, the U.S. Government was responsible for the explosion at Bikini of a new hydrogen thermo-nuclear device. Its destructive power was 600 times greater.

. . . One thing is being overlooked in this successful series of tests. When it is decided (for, of course, completely moral reasons) that the boys and girls, the babies, the men and women (all victims of the Kremlin) who have the misfortune to live at Pskov or Smolensk or Kursk shall be put to death, it should surely not be left to some casually-chosen Chaplain to decide upon the form in which Christ's blessing is to be brought to the work. There is surely a case for a special ceremony. We suggest that it is not too early for the Christian Churches of the Free World to begin conferring in order to decide on a suitable form.

—**Peace News**, London

Grandmother gets Rosenberg boys; college dean is named co-guardian

By James Aronson

SURROGATE William T. Collins on April 5 gave Michael and Robbie Rosenberg in permanent custody to their paternal grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg. But, over the objections of counsel for the Rosenberg family, he appointed as dual "general guardian" for the children Dean Kenneth D. Johnson of the N.Y. School of Social Work, to "protect" them from outside influences.

The reference to protection was puzzling in view of the fact that the Surrogate last week threw out the Welfare Dept. charges that Mrs. Rosenberg had not prevented the children from being exploited and used for propaganda purposes. His action last week supported the contention of counsel for the family that a Bill of Particulars—submitted by the Welfare Dept., to oppose Mrs. Rosenberg's guardianship—was nothing more than a collection of vague generalities.

THREE YEARS LATER: Michael, 11, and Robbie, 6, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, have been living in New York with their grandmother since they were placed temporarily in her charge by Supreme Court Justice McNally on Feb. 20. McNally's decision overturned a ruling by Children's Court Justice Panken assigning the children to an institution. They had been abruptly removed on Feb. 17 from the home of Abel and Anne Meeropol where they had been living happily since last Christmas. Their removal from the Meeropols stirred a world-wide storm reminiscent of the protest against the execution of their parents on June 19, 1953.

Surrogate Collins' decision last Monday came exactly three years to the day after the sentencing of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year term at Alcatraz.

ROBBIE & MICHAEL ROSENBERG
No substitute . . . for parents

STRANGER IN THE CASE: Attorneys for the family—Leonard Boudin, Gloria Agrin and Prof. Malcolm Sharp—objected to the naming of Johnson on the ground that he was a stranger, that his appointment was unnecessary because the Rosenberg family had taken excellent care of the children under the most trying circumstances. (Judge Panken, in refusing to allow the children to return to the Meeropols, had stressed the undesirability of "strangers" entering the case.) Philip Sokol, counsel to N.Y. Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy, declared Mrs. Rosenberg was "not qualified." The Surrogate overruled both.

Collins opened the hearing with a statement which he said would shorten the proceedings. He acknowledged widespread apprehension that the children would be institutionalized, said that would never happen "as long as I am Surrogate of N.Y. County." He said:

"The welfare of the children is the only paramount issue here; it is the only issue before the court. Hence extraneous matters, such as ideologies, are inadmissible. Nor are we concerned with the irrevocable past. . . . [The children] are entitled to as normal an upbringing, to as wholesome an environment . . . as is possible in the circumstances.

"It goes without saying that there is no substitute for the loving care of parents. . . . Hired or strange hearts are not natural hearts, no matter how solicitously they beat. Next to parents come close relatives whose natural devotion and interest will shield these children from the taunts and shadows of the past, the darts of the present, and who will in sum insure them an approximately normal and secure life free from publicity and contention."

HE WAS SATISFIED: The Surrogate ruled out Mrs. Tessie Greenglass, Ethel's mother, because of age, illness and lack of home space. He said two paternal aunts (both had joined the petition with Sophie Rosenberg and the Meeropols) and a paternal uncle were contributing to their mother's support, but were unable to take Robbie and Michael. He said he had read the record of the Supreme Court hearing at which Mrs. Rosenberg appeared and all other pertinent documents, and could ask for nothing further to attest to Mrs. Rosenberg's qualifications.

The grandmother, he said, was getting $45 a week from the Rosenberg Children's Trust Fund, created by attorney Emanuel Bloch before his death and at present administered by five trustees. This money was for the care of the children and for religious school training. Then he indicated he would appoint Mrs. Rosenberg as guardian unless there were objections.

Sokol rose and asked for a private hearing. After a conference at the bench attorneys for both sides retired with the Surrogate to his chambers. Seventy-five minutes later Collins admitted the press and announced his decision.

THE RECOMMENDATION: He said Dean Johnson had been recommended by the Jewish Board of Guardians, in a letter from its exec. director Herschel Alt, and had been endorsed by the JBG's legal adviser Frank Karelsen, who is an officer of the ultra-conservative American Jewish Committee. Collins said he had received "more than 2,000 letters and cables" with advice which he had solicited. "I have all the workers of France here," he said, pointing to the pile. Throughout the hearing and after he appeared nervous and not overly anxious to prolong the talk with reporters.

Asked about the guardianship of the children's "property," also due for a decision that day, he said he had not yet decided. He ordered that the $45 a week contribution from the Fund be continued, and that the fund money, estimated at over $40,000, be placed in a savings bank (where it has been since its inception). Lawyers for the family have contended that the Fund, under the terms of the trust agreement, cannot be regarded as the children's property until they reach maturity. It is being administered with scrupulous accounting.

Dean Johnson, head of the N.Y. School, a Columbia University affiliate, since 1949, is a former judge of Children's Court in Quincy, Mass. Welfare Commissioner McCarthy said he was "delighted" with the appointment.

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—AP report from Rome in Humboldt (Calif.) Times.

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SENATE INQUIRY IS STALLED, BUT . . .

'Joe Must Go' movement gains all over nation

By Lawrence Emery

FEW distinguished gentlemen of the U.S. Senate raised a protest last week as a Senate committee continued its dreary—and dilatory—pursuit of a McCarthyite counsel to conduct a "fair" inquiry into Sen. McCarthy's feud with the Army.

First choice of McCarthy committee members, Boston attorney Samuel Sears, blew up in their faces five days after he was given the job. After being represented to the country as an eminent lawyer who never took a stand on McCarthyism and did not seek the job, he was revealed both as a self-starter who had pulled all available strings to get the assignment and as a long-standing, publicly voluble admirer of McCarthy and his works. Red-faced committee members gallantly permitted him to resign and scurry back to Boston with his integrity intact.

THE CARDINAL GIVES JOE A BIG HAND

Cardinal Spellman (r.) applauding Sen. McCarthy as he addressed 6,000 N.Y. City policemen at a communion breakfast of the department's Holy Name Society. In the center Msgr. J. A. McCaffrey, retiring department chaplain.

COMMUNION: While the Senate stalling went on, McCarthy held what ground he could. One big assist came from New York: on April 4 McCarthy addressed 6,000 N.Y. policemen—nearly one-third of the force—at a communion breakfast of the Holy Name Society. On hand to lend eminence to the occasion were Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh and Cardinal Spellman himself. The cops gave McCarthy a tumultuous ovation — McCarthy thought it might be the biggest of his career—and some of them shouted: "McCarthy for President!" Police Commissioner Francis Adams also was present.

While New Yorkers pondered this outburst from their impartial upholders of law, McCarthy made a movie for a TV answer to criticism of him by Ed Murrow of CBS. His performance, he said in advance, was "not complete and does not have all the answers to the charges made." Flying to Arizona for some sunshine (he is reported ailing with virus laryngitis), he left behind a $7,500 tab for making the movie; no one knew who would pick it up.

COURAGE: But around the country courage was becoming contagious: people everywhere were beginning to talk up to the bully. In Washington, D.C., 52 citizens, unidentified politically or otherwise, signed an open letter to President Eisenhower inserted in the Washington **Post** as a paid ad:

"For the past three years, with a mounting sense of helplessness and horror, we have watched Sen. McCarthy go from triumph to triumph, leaving in his wake the now all-too-familiar debris: reputations and careers of able and honest citizens blasted; morale shattered in great government departments; seeds of fear and suspicion sown throughout the nation; to say nothing of shocking blows delivered to the prestige of our government at home and abroad. . . . We would like to hear you say in your own words that McCarthy's tactics are unwelcome and abhorrent not only to the Republican Party, but to honest and decent citizens of both parties. . . ."

WANTED—BELIEVERS: In the Newark (N.J.) **News**, 78 citizens chipped in to buy a quarter-page ad headed: "McCarthy, Whom Do You Think You Are Fooling?" On April 7 New York newspapers carried full-page ads signed by 50 citizens from all over the country, soliciting signatures to a declaration of belief in "fraud and deceit" charges made against McCarthy by former Sen. Benton. (On March 5 McCarthy withdrew a $2,000,000 libel and slander suit against Benton because "no one could be found who believed Benton's charges.") Head of the committee sponsoring this movement is Orton H. Hicks, 525 Lexington Av., New York 17, N.Y.

In Austin, Tex., 1,571 Texas University students petitioned H. R. Cullen, oil millionaire backer of McCarthy, to "reconsider" an invitation to McCarthy to speak at Texas' San Jacinto Day, April 21. (Cullen said the invitation couldn't be withdrawn, called McCarthy "the greatest man in America.") But on April 6 the Texas House of Representatives voted 72-55 to kill a motion to invite McCarthy to address them.

PRAIRIE FIRE: The biggest mass movement against McCarthy was sweeping like a grass fire through his native Wisconsin. It began on March 18 when Republican editor LeRoy Gore of the weekly **Sauk-Prairie Star** of Sauk City suggested a recall election to retire McCarthy. By last week a state organization had been set up and "Joe Must Go" clubs were being formed in every part of the state. Some 40,000 recall petitions with space for 800,000 names were in circulation and more than 160,000 signatures had already been collected (404,000 are needed by May 17). Among the signers were 12 of Madison's 20 aldermen.

Not only signing, but offering to run against McCarthy in a recall election, was Secy. of State and former governor Fred R. Zimmerman, a Republican and the state's champion vote-getter. To him the recall was

". . . a step in the right direction if McCarthy ever is to be stopped. I don't think McCarthy is good for the U.S. Senate, and the worst part of it is that he's from Wisconsin."

Interlandi in Cincinnati Enquirer

"In a strange crowd like this, John likes to let them know where he stands . . . it saves the 'feeling out' process."

At a mass meeting April 2 to set up a Madison "Joe Must Go" club, Gore said:

"To night I am prepared to tell you with all sincerity that this movement has a very real chance of success. We can, I am sure, secure the necessary 404,000 signatures. We can, I am sure, jump the Constitutional barriers. We can, I am sure, return Sen. McCarthy to private life."

IT'S CATCHING: Backing for the Wisconsin movement was nationwide. The Los Angeles **Daily News** published a report by Gore on March 29. Overnight the paper was swamped with inquiries; by April 1 readers had voluntarily contributed $1,200 for the work.

Although Wisconsin state labor leaders did not endorse the recall, unions were jumping in. The AFL Painters Union Local 802 of Madison and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engineers participated in founding the statewide organization. On March 29 in Madison the Dane County Political Education Committee, representing AFL, CIO and independent unions in the county, voted unanimously "as wholeheartedly supporting the movement," urging "all the people we represent" to support it. A day earlier Milwaukee Local 5501 of the CIO Communications Workers of America voted to back the recall and urge five other CWA locals in the area to join.

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BROWNELL'S 'ANTI-TREASON' WINDOW-DRESSING

Wire-tap bill steamroller moving fast

SINCE 1934, evidence secured by tapping wires has been inadmissible in Federal courts under the Federal Communications Act. An effort by President Roosevelt during World War II to legalize wiretap evidence in certain types of cases was defeated. The late Supreme Court Justice Holmes denounced wiretapping as "a dirty business." The invasion of privacy by legalized wiretapping has always been repulsive to free citizens.

But last week a wiretap bill, sponsored by Atty. Gen. Brownell and backed by J. Edgar Hoover and President Eisenhower, was being pushed rapidly toward adoption. News of its progress was blanketed under H-bomb headlines, McCarthy antics and threats of war against China.

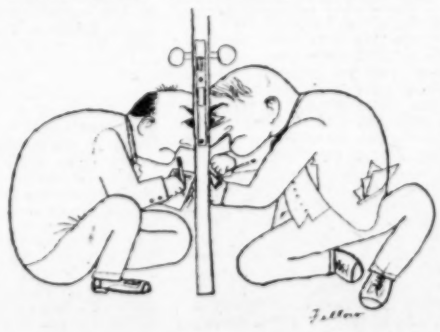
Brownell's original bill, which vested full authority in him to authorize wiretapping, met strong opposition. Last December Cleveland's Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver called it "the beginning of a police state" and said "it would open every home to snoopers and witch-hunters." **Labor**, publication of 16 railroad brotherhoods, warned that "it's not a far step for wiretapping to become a strikebreaking instrument." Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.) called the bill "part of Brownell's plan for the establishment of a Gestapo state in this nation."

WHAT THE DOCTOR ORDERED: To remove some of this heat, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) introduced a "compromise" bill to legalize wiretapping if it was authorized by a federal court in addition to the Attorney General's approval. Keating's House Judiciary subcommittee approved this measure, but Brownell continued to fight it, and the matter remained deadlocked. On Feb. 10 columnist Robert S. Allen predicted that "President Eisenhower and J. Edgar Hoover will personally go to bat" for the Brownell bill.

On March 27 Keating surrendered to Brownell, offered a substitute bill just as Brownell ordered it. Because "wiretapping" had by now become an ugly word, the new measure was tagged the "anti-traitor bill." Keating said his mind had been changed by a talk with Brownell and Hoover, who convinced him that prosecutors "would be seriously hampered in bringing to justice the enemies of our country if they were required to obtain court approval before tapping a wire." He said he had been assured that wiretaps have already turned up evidence of "serious crimes involving disloyalty to our country" and added:

"My conscience does not permit me to be responsible in any way for the suppression of such evidence. Those who would destroy us are clever, resourceful, and unscrupulous. They will stop at nothing. They do not deserve kid-glove treatment."

STILL TIME TO ACT: For two days the Brownell bill was hotly debated in the 30-man House Judiciary Committee but on Mar. 31 it was rammed through by a vote of 19 to 9. On April 2 the House Rules Committee cleared the way for House action on the bill this week. Washington experts predict its passage, but there is still time for protest wires to Congressmen and it is still possible to defeat it in the Senate.



OUTLAW BILLS: Meanwhile other repressive measures were either up for action or being planned. On April 5 a House Judiciary subcommittee headed by Rep. Louis E. Graham (R-Pa.) began hearings on 11 bills to outlaw the Communist Party and to make membership in it an offense punishable by up to ten years in prison.

Brownell was urging Congress to enact legislation providing the death penalty for peace-time espionage (maximum punishment now is 20 years imprisonment). He also asked that existing laws against sabotage be "modernized" to cover "possibilities of sabotage by radioactive, biological or chemical agents."

ARMY "RISKS": Others were concentrating on measures aimed at "loyalty risks" in the armed services. Sen. Charles E. Potter (R-Mich.) was readying a bill to ban all such "risks" from service; Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) had a bill to strip "disloyal persons" of all veterans' benefits; Secy. of Defense Charles E. Wilson was proposing that drafted "risks" be barred from rising above the rank of private and kept isolated in "non-sensitive" jobs.

HOW OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS REALLY FEEL

Dulles' paper victory at Caracas

By Kumar Goshal

ON March 13, shortly after the Inter-American Conference had voted 17 to 1 (Guatemala) with 2 abstentions (Mexico, Argentina) in favor of the U. S. anti-Communist resolution, Secy. Dulles left Caracas "with a happy smile of triumph" (N.Y. **Times**, 3/13).

To buy his "triumph," Dulles refrained from pointing a direct finger at Guatemala as a "Communist-dominated" country, admitted in his resolution each state's "inalienable right freely to choose its own form of government and economic system and to live its own social and cultural life." Even so, votes cast on Mexican and Uruguayan amendments were "sometimes too close for Dulles' comfort" (**Newsweek**, 3/22). After Dulles left, many delegates explaining their vote for his resolution "spoke almost as if their consciences had begun to pain them" (**NYT**, 3/16). Said Uruguay's Justin de Arechaga:

> "We contributed our approval without enthusiasm, without optimism, without joy and without the feeling that we were contributing to the adoption of a constructive measure."

The prevailing mood was that Dulles had won only a paper victory, and the Latin Americans were not inclined to push anti-communism any further. Indicating this, the Dominican Republic withdrew resolutions to outlaw Communist parties in the hemisphere and bar hemisphere trade unions from affiliating with such groups as the World Fedn. of Trade Unions.

THE REAL PROBLEMS: Dulles left his lieutenants to face the music as the Latin Americans took up the problems that most concerned them: inter-American trade, race discrimination, European colonies in America. On all these the U. S. took a qualified or non-committal, defensive position.

Latin Americans complained that the tin, copper, lead, zinc, rubber, wool and other raw materials they export mainly to the U.S. suffer from wild price fluctuations, while manufactured goods they import from the U. S. always go up in price. Recently, while manufactured goods have soared higher than ever, raw material prices have dropped drastically: Bolivian tin, for example, from the 1952 high of $1.21½ a pound to about 80c, resulting in an annual $15 million deficit in Bolivia's balance of payments.

PARITY, PLEASE: Demand was widespread for some kind of "parity" between what Latin Americans sell to and buy from the U. S.; less foreign capital investment and more loans "to establish industries in areas where raw materials exist alongside potential markets," as Chile's Finance Minister del Pedregal recently told the UN Economic Commission for Latin America; clarification of Latin American countries' sovereignty over the continental shelf (rich in submerged oil and mineral resources), long demanded by Peru and Ecuador "disturbed over U. S. fishing activities off their shores" (**NYT**, 3/12).

ABOUT WHAT INTERESTED HIM MOST, DULLES WAS SILENT
This is an oil worker from Lake Maracaibo in western Venezuela

CECILIA P. de REMON
Dulles got a smaller hand

Avoiding any commitments, Washington agreed to discuss these issues at a fall economic conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Latin delegates seemed "convinced that . . . very little economic aid can be expected from the U. S." (**NYT**, 3/10). Dulles had already advised them that "what Latin America needed was not price-fixing but cost-cutting" (**NYT**, 3/7), which would mean lowering their already miserable living standard. The U. S. attitude (**Manchester Guardian**, 3/4) was that its neighbors should

> ". . . slow down the pace of industrialization in favor of expanding primary production. [Latin Americans suspected] that the U. S. wishes them to retain a colonial economy to supply sufficient raw materials for [its] expanded industries and provide a market for [its] manufacturing surplus."

DOUBLE DISCRIMINATION: Guatemala presented a resolution that would:

- Prohibit economic boycotts of any American republic by another American nation or group of nations, considering them as "economic aggression with as grave and deplorable results as armed aggression";
- Declare as illegal foreign monopolies exploiting mineral, industrial or agricultural resources;
- Recommend that companies exploiting basic resources utilize at least 51% of domestic capital.

Although aware that Latin Americans sympathized with the resolution, the U. S. voted against it; many Latin delegates, knowing it was aimed directly at the U. S., solved their dilemma by abstaining. The first two points lost in committee 4-1 (11 abstentions) and 9-1 (six abstentions).

At the start of the conference, when Panama's First Lady Mrs. Cecelia Remon confronted the U. S. with the "embarrassingly direct charge that it was sponsoring . . . economic as well as racial discrimination . . . against Panamanians" (**NYT**, 3/10), she won "a burst of applause considerably noisier than that accorded" Dulles (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 3/10). On March 15 the conference carried 19-0 a resolution condemning racial discrimination, calling for measures to abolish it. Guatemala abstained, objecting to the political character given the resolution by the statement that discriminatory practices "promote . . . a favorable climate" for Communist propaganda. On the ground that it contained features falling within the competence of individual U. S. states, the U. S. cast a limited vote.

NO MORE COLONIES: Heated discussion developed over "European colonies" and "occupied territories" in Latin America. Latin Americans consider as European colonies French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and smaller islands; British Guiana, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad and smaller islands; Dutch Guiana and Curacao. They classify as "occupied teritories" British Honduras (Belize), claimed by Guatemala, and the Falkland, S. Sandwich and S. Georgia Islands claimed by Argentina. Argentina and Chile both claim sections of the "American" Antarctic zone.

Over strenuous U. S. opposition, the conference carried 19-0 (the U. S. abstaining) an Argentine resolution to eliminate colonialism from Latin America. A Guatemalan amendment to ask the UN Gen. Assembly to secure immediate, total independence for these colonies was narrowly defeated, but another Guatemalan amendment repudiating force to maintain colonialism was approved.

EMBARRASSING CONSTITUTIONS: Meanwhile the realities of "benevolent" colonialism were again spotlighted as a British commission flew to British Honduras "to make sure [it] will not become another British Guiana" (**Reuters**, 3/20). It reported that the situation was grave and accused Guatemala of aiding the Br. Honduras People's Party. As with Guiana, London had given Honduras a constitution under which elections are due April 23; it was conceded that the progressive, anti-colonial Br. Honduras People's Party would "win at least eight out of nine seats . . . to be filled by ballot" (**NYT**, 3/11). In Guiana, this problem was solved by suspending the constitution; last week deposed Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan and his wife were arrested for leaving Georgetown and holding a procession against government orders. In Honduras last month "wide emergency powers" were granted the Governor "to prevent a similar constitutional fiasco" (**NYT**, 3/21).

The realities were further spotlighted in an **Observateur** (Paris) report of 12/17/53 on the worsening of Martinique's and Guadeloupe's colonial status since they were made "departments" of France after World War II. The report said that even lumber for the people's wretched huts, potatoes and fresh vegetables were being brought 4,000 miles from France; living costs are 50% above Paris while sugarcane workers earn $34-$43 a month. When their status was changed the people sent Socialist and Communist deputies to Paris; Paris retaliated with total censorship, violent smashing of strikes (eight deaths in one sugar workers' strike last year), total fraud in local elections which has become "the normal thing for the government."

ONE WAY OUT? The dominant theme of the Caracas conference was economic: among resolutions rushed through by Latin American delegates in the final week, these were approved:

- A Guatemala-Bolivia resolution advocating "a just distribution of land and [abolition of] feudal systems in agriculture" (17 for, U. S. and Colombia abstained);
- A Venezuelan resolution calling upon industrialized countries—mainly the U. S.—to eliminate restrictions on raw material imports (17 for, U. S. and Cuba against);
- A proposal for expanded U. S. production to absorb sufficient Latin American raw materials at "an equitable level of remunerative prices" (18 for, U. S. against);
- A resolution recommending disposal of surplus grain in the world market in ways that would not bring down prices and interfere with national economies (17 for, U. S. and Bolivia abstained).

U. S. delegates fought hard but were "decisively outvoted on five major questions" (**NYT**, 3/26). Yet the resolutions left basic U. S.-Latin American economic conflicts unresolved, to be fought over again at the conference in Brazil. Latin Americans have one ace up their sleeve: expanding trade with the socialist world. This was indicated by a Chilean resolution asking for a conference on sale of lead, tin and copper. Such a conference would show how much potential sales to socialist countries could compensate for losses incurred in sales of "strategic" materials to the West.

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Memo to Caracas

To each of the Caracas conference delegates, the Civil Rights Congress sent a 20-page summary of violations of civil liberties in the U. S. since the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man was formulated (and since ratified by the U. S.) at the Inter-American Conference of 1948. The memorandum detailed the "Six Year Retrogression Toward a Police State" in the U. S. as exemplified by "loyalty" purges, listing of "subversive" organizations, Taft-Hartley, Smith Act implementation, Internal Security Act, concentration camps, Walter-McCarran Law, violation of Negro rights, oppression of Mexicans and Mexican descendants and of Puerto Ricans, denial of passports, perjury frame-ups, persecution of defense lawyers, the execution of the Rosenbergs.

These developments, CRC told the Caracas delegates show "the development of a climate of political opinion which is the exact opposite of the high ideals of the 'American Declaration' (of 1948)." The conferees were urged to discuss "this historical account of the past six years in the U. S., to reaffirm the high principles of the American Declaration of the Rights of Man, and to condemn all violations of those principles."

BOOKS Jefferson and Hamilton, a southpaw and a soul-seller

By John T. McManus

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB subscribers are now receiving Bowers' monumental **Jefferson and Hamilton**, a classic originally published in 1925 documenting the struggle for democracy in our republic's first decade. Discussing it for today's public, Dr. Philip S. Foner says it "still stands as the most exciting and colorful portrayal of the decade which opened with the inauguration of Washington as first President and closed with the election of Jefferson." The triumph in 1800 of Jefferson's philosophy that "the will of the people is the only legitimate foundation of any government," against Hamilton's Federalist view that the government belonged to the wealthy, enables the book to end with a chapter entitled "Democracy Triumphant." Foner expresses the conviction that this same title will conclude "a future book dealing with the present-day descendants of the reactionary Federalists."

JEFFERSON & HAMILTON, by Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin (Boston), 531 pp., $4.75. To Liberty Book Club members (100 W. 23d St., N. Y. C. 11), $2.50 (plus 7c sales tax in N. Y. C.)

"The Southpaw"

Mark Harris's **The Southpaw** is easily the best baseball novel since Ring Lardner. (Available free to new L. B. C. members ordering **Jefferson and Hamilton.**) In one way it is more important than Lardner's classics since it deals with the game since Jackie Robinson's entry opened most big league portals to Negro players. You do not need to have dreamed of a big league career to enjoy it—but if you have a young Pirate, Seal or Giant in your home, it's a seasonal must.

THE SOUTHPAW, by Mark Harris. Bobbs-Merrill, N. Y., 350 pp., $3.50. $1.89 to L. B. C. members.

"30 Pieces of Silver"

BLUE HERON PRESS has been much mentioned in the GUARDIAN as publisher of Howard Fast's **Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti** ($3) and the $5 Golden Jubilee edition of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' **Souls of Black Folk.** Blue Heron's latest is the Howard Fast play **Thirty Pieces of Silver** which has been produced with great success in Australia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, Israel, France, Belgium, Poland, the U.S.S.R., Italy and Canada, but not in the U.S. Its setting is witch-hunt Washington; its theme, cold-war soul-selling. The exposition through one family circle caught in the web of vague suspicion of political heresy is simple and unhysterical, the play eminently performable. Much more than you can get for any $7.20 top on Broadway.

30 PIECES OF SILVER, by Howard Fast. Blue Heron Press, 47 W. 63d St., N. Y. C. 23, 96 pp., $2.50.

"The Best Untold"

Again a progressive artist offers his work to the progressive public in an inexpensive, permanent form. Blue Heron Press (47 W. 63d St., N. Y. C. 23) presents California's Edward Biberman in "The Best Untold." For an art book the $3 price is modest. "Where they will sing together" (above) is one of the 28 paintings handsomely reproduced in black and white on large (8½x11") pages. Biberman projects a connected interpretation of contemporary life although the pictures were painted as individual works over the last 16 years. He looks at the bomb, strike-breaking and injustices to minorities but he does not neglect what is good to see. He shows us a beautiful child, joyful singers and the dignity of the people in their struggles.—R. J.

Freedom Discs

WILLIAM MANDEL is the author-lecturer who left Sen. McCarthy picking barbs out of his hide for weeks after they clashed on a televised hearing last year. Mandel made a record and a pamphlet out of the transcript of that hearing which have been bestsellers among GUARDIAN readers. This year he has been the main voice and producer of an LP record series called "Issue of the Month" (subscription $5 for three months). His first quarter started with "McCarthyism," then "Prospects of Peace" and now "Depression" (Freedom Discs, Box 182, Audubon Sta., N.Y.C. 32; $2 ppd.)

A trained and tireless fact-getter, Mandel presents the worsening picture in fully-documented fashion, discusses what palliatives if any are in the immediate offing, proposes a program for ending this depression before it gets fully started and preventing future ones. The presentation—in dialogue or interview form, with an interrogator voice anticipating the sort of questions a listener might ask at a meeting—makes the record highly listenable and informative both for individual hearers and forum-type home or other gatherings. The information is sound, the presentation on a level with the best lecture or radio-television techniques.

— J. T. M.

"State of the Nation" in 'Frisco April 24

State of the Nation, ASP's Field Theatre revue satirizing McCarthyism and the Cadillac Cabinet, will play one performance in San Francisco Sat. Eve., April 24, at 150 Golden Gate Av.

The show, which played to capacity houses in Los Angeles in January, is the product of "uncooperative witnesses" before various investigating committees and blacklisted artists. They include director Mitch Lindeman; writers Fred Rinaldo, Jack Robinson, Gene Stone and Wilma Shore; composer Sol Kaplan; dancer Libby Burke; comedian Al Hammer.

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THROUGH NEW YORK'S POLITICAL SEWER — V

Big-time crime is pro-Dewey in Saratoga, Democratic in B'klyn; Wagner names Zombie

By Elmer Bendiner

BI-PARTISAN politics was developed by the large-scale crime syndicates long before it was adopted by Congress.

One example of businesslike bi-partisanship is Joseph Doto. Though rarely convicted, he has been arrested for bootlegging, assault, robbery, kidnaping and extortion. In a reminiscent mood before the Kefauver Committee he acknowledged long-forgotten aliases he gave to police during Prohibition: "I have used so many names in those minor conflicts."

In the major conflicts that came when he rose to prominence as a business executive and behind-the-scenes political power, he settled on the name: Joe Adonis.

INNOCENT FUN: His business interests ranged from the Consolidated Television Co. (with partners Frank Costello and Meyer Lansky) to the Kings County Buick Co. and the Automotive Conveying Co. of N.J., which held the exclusive contract for transporting finished Fords out of the big Edgewater plant. (Until recently Adonis was majority stockholder.) He had his finger in countless other ventures in-

JOE ADONIS
The original bi-partisan

cluding lush gambling casinos in Miami, Saratoga and New Jersey and a N.Y. restaurant.

To illustrate the facility with which he worked with Democrats or Republicans, take Adonis' Arrowhead Inn at Saratoga and his little restaurant at 4th and Carroll Sts., Brooklyn. The Arrowhead Inn had five roulette wheels, two crap tables, two bird-cages, five card tables, a "big-six" vertical wheel and, on the side, a restaurant. The game room was as wide open as the restaurant, guarded only by large bouncers.

THE CONNECTIONS: Saratoga is a GOP province. Its race track and seven gambling joints for years have been run by known gangsters working with the police, local political leaders and men very close to Gov. Dewey. Detective Walter F. A'Hearn of the Saratoga Springs Police Dept. was asked by Kefauver Committee Counsel Halley:

"Now, what is your general information about what has to be done in order to operate a gambling place in Saratoga?"

A'Hearn: "Well, if I was going to operate one . . . I would go to somebody who was operating one and see the right connections."

Halley: "Who are the right connections as far as common gossip is concerned, in Saratoga?"

A'Hearn: "Well, your political leaders, I would say. . . ."

Halley: "And if you did raid

any gambling places you would expect to be fired; is that right?"

A'Hearn: "I would expect that something would be done to me, to a certain extent."

Halley: "Now, have you had orders not to raid any gambling places?"

A'Hearn: "No, sir."

Sen. Tobey (R-N.H.): "I think the witness has the ordinary powers of observation and he just absorbed that and used tact and diplomacy."

A'Hearn: "That is right."

"THE FINEST PEOPLE": Detective A'Hearn, a former FBI man, told how the police helped carry each day's take from Adonis' Arrowhead Inn and other casinos and horse-parlors to the bank. State police officials testified that the occasional surveys of gambling were filed and forgotten; that the universal corruption was so generally known that it could scarcely have escaped the Governor's knowledge; that Democrat and Republican bigwigs met the state's crime bosses at fashionable crap games.

GOP boss James Leary was cagy when asked: "Is it fair to say that the political leaders up there on both sides [Republican and Democrat] do not expect anything to be done about these gambling places in Saratoga?"

Leary: ". . . I do a favor for this one, and they have done a favor for me, and the like, but I don't know about that."

Kefauver: "Who are your associates?"

Leary: "I have a niece . . . who is received by the finest people in this country . . . and that statement goes all the way from Mrs. Elliott, whose mother wrote the Battle Hymn of the Republic, that goes up to the finest people in this country today. She is beyond reproach in every way."

"A LOT OF FRIENDS": In Democratic territory Joe Adonis managed with equal facility. His restaurant, conveniently close to Brooklyn's Borough Hall, was a hang-out for the borough's Democratic leaders. Charles Lipsky, a friend and message runner for ex-Mayor O'Dwyer, was asked by the Kefauver Comm. why Judge George Joyce (presently sitting in Kings County Court) was seen so often in Adonis' restaurant.

Lipsky: "In fact, anybody who had a primary fight on the Democratic end was called in there."

Halley: "Why would they call at Joe Adonis' restaurant in connection with a primary fight on the Democratic end?"

Lipsky: "Well, he [Adonis] was looked upon as a fellow who had a lot of friends, and who could help these contestants, both by recommending the contestant, and also he was free with his money in support of the candidate."

DOPE, MURDER, ETC.: Testimony before the Committee and the N.Y. State Crime Commission told of Meyer Lansky's shadowy financing of business deals for Costello and Adonis, of his specialization in the narcotics traffic which did not interfere with his easy social life among the politicians. Testimony also offered an insight into a primary fight within the Democratic machine, specifically in the 1949 mayoralty race when the gangsters split. Costello and Adonis allegedly favored Judge Ferdinand Pecora. Thomas (Three-Finger Brown) Luchese and Lansky were said to back Vincent Impellitteri.

Luchese was a dinner companion of Dist. Atty. Miles Lane and his assistant, Armand Chankalian, although he had been arrested twice for murder, once for vagrancy and once for grand larceny.

THE RAP: The evidence of corruption fills whole bookshelves of hearing transcripts. Yet these are the total casualties: Joe Adonis served 26 months for gambling, is now at liberty though facing deportation proceedings. Costello served 14 months of an 18-month sentence for contempt of Congress, is now at liberty, but last week began his trial for income tax evasion. Lansky has never been indicted, and is currently operating in Palm Springs, Calif. Most of the men cited as their political friends are still in high office.

Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio, now a member of the Democratic National Committee, who was frequently seen with Costello in his palmiest days, is credited with having installed New York's present Mayor in office.

THE ZOMBIE: Other familiar names recur in the present administration. Sidney Moses, when he was leader of the 6th A.D. Democratic Club, was a friend of Costello and business associate of gunmen Larry Knohl and Jack Perlman, for whom he tried to get government contracts and split the take with them.

WILLIAM O'DWYER
Only the Mayor

The State Crime Commission found that when short he would draw on the club's funds. On one occasion the club "lent" him $1,000. The Commisison asked the club's secy.-treas. Irving Dolen why he handed the money over. Said Dolen:

"Whatever he told me to do I did—practically a zombie."

Last week zombie Dolen was appointed assistant to the president of the City Tax Commission—at $5,400 a year.

TRUCE ON THE WATERFRONT

Government gang-up breaks port's longest strike; ILA confident in face of new NLRB elections

ON Monday, April 5, N.Y. longshoremen went back to work, their no-contract-no-work strike broken by an unprecedented gang-up of city, state and federal agencies. Dockers had held out against injunctions and jail threats. They had picketed the White House, defied whole troops of police mounted and on foot to keep their picket lines solid against convoys of scabs. They had held out against hunger.

Last straw was the threat of the Natl. Labor Relations Board to rule their union, the ILA, off the ballot in forthcoming elections unless the strike was halted.

STICKING WITH ILA: The NLRB voided the previous election in which the ILA defeated the raiding AFL union, and scheduled a new vote within 30 days. The ILA pressed for an early election, confident it would win. The strike proved that the ILA still had the dockers' allegiance. The AFL, having led the most savage strike-breaking in its history, was clearly at low ebb.

City, state and AFL leaders sought to delay elections, hoping that fresh prosecutions of ILA leaders and continued intervention by the waterfront commission might demoralize the ILA, whittle down the vote. The AFL still demanded the ILA be stricken from the ballot.

GAINS AND DANGERS: The strike's balance sheet showed these gains: It had been the longest and most effective in the port's history. The union was solid and almost all scabs had to be recruited from outside the waterfront. (The Isbrandtsen Line complained at

the strike's end that the AFL was sending them "goofs" instead of dockers.)

The gangland leadership was forced to take a back seat. It had always tried to head off strikes in the past, this time was forced to go along with the rank and file.

The strike showed these dangers: Mayor Wagner, Gov. Dewey, the courts and boards demonstrated a grim effectiveness in strike-breaking that could have precedents across the country. Racket-busting might rival communist-hunting as an excuse for union-busting. Application of the method in the ILA's case had behind it a particular objective: maintenance of the waterfront commission's regimentation with screening, fingerprinting, state hiring halls. The AFL has not fought it.

THE BLIND EYE: By and large, organized labor looked the other way—except for the AFL which openly scabbed. Exceptions included John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, which supported the ILA consistently; Harry Bridges who spoke out for the dockers' demands, against AFL strike-breaking and the government's regimentation plan.

The CIO Natl. Maritime Union remained neutral. (A spokesman told the GUARDIAN: "We'll take no sides.") But just before the strike's end the NMU said it would call its men off ships where cargo was improperly stowed, which would have tied up most scab ships. It came too little and too late.

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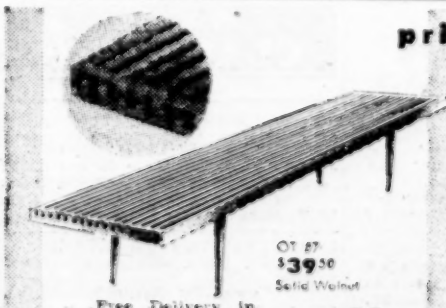

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LATEST VICTIM OF TAFT-HARTLEY

Gold 'guilty,' faces 5 years; jury interference charged

AFTER six weeks of trial and 12½ hours of deliberation, a Washington jury last week found Ben Gold, president since 1936 of the independent Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union, guilty on two counts of making false statements in a Taft-Hartley anti-Communist affidavit. He was acquitted on a third count. Judge Charles F. McLaughlin continued Gold on $10,000 bail pending sentencing. He faces a maximum of five years and $10,000 fine on each count. Argument on defense motions, including one for a new trial, was set for April 12. Defense counsel Vito Marcantonio said the conviction will be appealed all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Gold signed the T-H affidavit in August, 1950, a few days after he formally and publicly resigned from the Communist Party after 30 years' membership. Government prosecutor Joseph A. Lowther made no effort to prove membership following Gold's resignation, but contended:

"There is no such thing as resignation. You can get out only by expulsion. . . . [The fact that there was] no evidence of Gold's dues payments or attendance at meetings is not indicative that he was not a member."

WHITE EQUALS BLACK: Government witnesses, all former CP members and most of them now on government payrolls as "experts" in trials, deportation hearings and Congressional probes, testified that Gold used "Aesopian language" which meant the opposite of what it said in his statement announcing his resignation. They swore on the stand that when Gold wrote, "I have resigned but I do not give up my belief in true democracy," the words "true democracy" actually meant "dictatorship of the proletariat."

In his summation to the jury, which contained five government employes, Marcantonio stressed that the prosecution had offered

". . . not a single piece of evidence of membership in the Communist Party after Aug. 24, 1950 . . . of affiliation with the Communist Party . . . of support of the Communist Party.

". . . The issue has been lost in a fog, a smokescreen of prejudice and lies. . . . Because he took certain positions as a Communist in the past, they claim he remained a Communist Party member after Aug. 30, 1950. His past became his present."

In his summation Lowther told the jury:

"The mere fact that there has been no evidence before you by the Government that Gold, after August, 1950, didn't have a party card, didn't attend meetings or didn't pay dues, under the testimony of the witness sworn on oaths before you, is no indication that he was not a member. None whatever."

THE FBI APPROACHES: In the trial's fourth week court proceedings were halted while Judge McLaughlin interviewed the jurors one after another in his chambers, following which he dismissed the foreman and later a second juror. He ordered defense attorneys not to divulge the reasons for the dismissals, but later it became known that the action resulted from visits to the jurors' homes by FBI agents.

At 11 p.m. the night before the defense was scheduled to begin its argument, a reading of the trial transcript disclosed, FBI agent Oscar Smasal phoned the wife of jury foreman Leonard Abrams. At the hearing Smasal told the judge he was calling all the jurors on the February panel (whether sitting on the Gold case or not) to find out whether they had received in the mail an ad from the Washington **Afro-American** on the Hugh Bryson case. (Bryson will come to trial soon on a similar charge.) Abrams told the judge his wife said:

". . . [Smasal] said there were some allegations that reached him that members of the jury of the February panel had received communist literature, and he asked if she had received any. And she said no."

BEN GOLD
The new truth: What is, isn't

CALL FOR MISTRIAL: Next day at 9 p.m., the transcript revealed, juror Clifford I. Morton received the same call. Smasal also visited the wife of juror Robert E. Beatty at their home. Beatty testified:

"He wanted to know whether I got mail pertaining to this case . . . he mentioned something about, in cases like this, that they more or less had to be careful, because in cases like this there has been tampering with the jury."

Marcantonio called for a mistrial, which was refused. He cited a March 8 decision in Remmer vs. U. S.:

"The sending of an FBI agent in the midst of a trial to investigate a juror as to his conduct is bound to impress the juror and is very apt to do so unduly. A juror must feel free to exercise his functions without the FBI or anyone else looking over his shoulder."

THERE WERE OTHERS: Questioned by the judge, three other jurors said they had overhead in the jury room that members had received calls.

Said the Furriers Union on April 3:

"It was clear to all those who attended the six-week trial that this unjust verdict is not the result of any evidence brought out during the course of the trial. The verdict . . . was brought about by deliberate FBI tampering with the jury in the middle of the trial. Not satisfied with a jury packed with government employes, the FBI intimidated these jurors because it saw the crude frame-up collapsing."

"All of us should know . . ."

If the Pentagon and certain politicians can keep the fear of Communistic aggression fresh in the public's mind a few years longer, all our men of military age and many of our women will belong to the professional armies. We will then be a military state similar to that of Hitler's, with which he terrorized the world.

All of us should know that the Pentagon's claim that our Government is in danger of being overthrown by a Communist revolution here at home is nonsense. War with Russia is extremely unlikely. The fear of a Russian attack will pass as soon as the public understands that the fear under which we live was generated by the Pentagon to frighten Congress into authorizing our big professional army. . . .

The power of the military caste must be curbed at once.

—Col. Wm. H. Neblett, **Pentagon Politics**

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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DR. SAMUEL S. KAUFMAN
May 12
"Parents and Children"
DR. IRVING CRAIN
May 19
"Delinquency and Violence"
DR. PAUL ZIMMERING
May 26—To be Announced

★

Tuition: $5 for each course of 6 sessions ($1 per session) payable at first meeting. 206 W. 15th St., New York City. WA 4-5524.

LECTURE: American Intervention in the Indo-Chinese War. Fri., Apr. 16, 8 p.m. Militant Hall, 116 University Place. Auspices: Socialist Workers' Party. Contribution: 25c.

Friends and Admirers of the
REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH
are cordially invited to attend a service marking the 50th Anniversary of his first sermon at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Montague & Clinton Sts., Boro Hall, Brooklyn, at 11 a.m., Palm Sunday, April 11. Special music. Guest Preacher: Dr. Karl Reiland.

THE PEOPLE AND THE H-BOMB: Peace or the Destruction of Humanity. Lecture by James S. Allen, author of "Atomic Imperialism." Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. Sun., April 11, 8:30 p.m. $1.

BAZAAR—Fri., April 9, 7-11 p.m. Sat., April 10, 11 a.m.-11 p.m. Sun., April 11, 2-10 p.m. Jewelry, Ceramics, Glassware, Toys & many more wonderful bargains. ALP-Village, 28 Greenwich Av.

SAT., APRIL 10,—9 P.M. Film Division proudly presents the first of a new series of Saturday Nights with **EARL ROBINSON** in a program of delightful entertainment. Dancing, social all evening. Refreshments and fun. ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: $1.

SUN., APRIL 18, 8:30 SHARP. "Art for Art's Sake vs. The People": Shaw, Gorki, Nexo. One of a continuing series of great talks on literature by Dr. Annette Rubinstein. ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: $1.

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THE CITY EXPENSE BUDGET

Mayor still dodges hitting big real estate for dough

By Arthur Schutzer

HIGHLIGHTS of the N.Y. City Expense Budget submitted by Mayor Wagner on April 1 are:

• While bemoaning the failure to obtain increased state aid, Wagner still shuts his eyes to a readily-available source of more revenue—through proper assessment on big commercial and industrial real estate. In this the City needs no authorization from Albany; it can act on its own. According to the Mayor's own budget message, real estate will pay for 1954-55 only 45.8% of city tax revenues; its 1944-45 share was 59.81%.

• The Dept. of Investigation, headed by former Subversive Activities Control Board chairman Peter C. Brown, is given an increase of $26,998 — the better to conduct the streamlined Wagner-Brown witch-hunt among city employes.

• The Office of Civil Defense gets $1,616,741 to waste—although everyone now knows that the only defense against H-bombs is peace.

CRUMBS FOR TEACHERS: 165,000 city employes get broken-pledge crumbs as follows: $450 increase for teachers; a maximum of $250 for the other city workers. (Twice since the budget was released teachers and other city employes have rallied in protest at City Hall.) In his campaign Wagner promised $750 to teachers. The budget does well by top officials, with $350,000 for pay rises, including a $10,000 boost for the Police, Fire and Hospitals Commissioners, $7,500 for the Health Commissioner.

• The Housing and Buildings Dept. gets an increase of $614,685, which will hardly dent the huge backlog of inspection and enforcement in fire-trap tenements.

ALBANY ALIBI: Extension of the 3% sales tax, retention of the auto use tax, are alibied by blaming Albany. Wagner went through the motions of "asking" for more state aid.

The budget cuts school services and supplies sharply below the Board of Education's requests. It proposes almost $39 million less than even the Board asked.

• Although city relief rolls are climbing as unemployment grows, the Welfare Dept. gets only $15 million more than last year—which signals even further cuts in relief allotments.

• The expense budget, which calls for $1,639,388,325, grossly fails to meet the needs of eight million New Yorkers.

Public hearings on the proposed budget before the Board of Estimate at City Hall will be held on April 12, 13 and 14. Unions of city employes have announced they will be on hand.

APRIL SERIES

Mexican films at Club Cinema

CLUB CINEMA, 430 Sixth Av. (9th St.), is presenting a series of outstanding Mexican films, all with English subtitles, during April.

Offered in the series are **Rio Escondido** (Hidden River), with Maria Felix, Latin America's foremost actress, in a story of Mexico's struggle against poverty and illiteracy, April 9-11; **El Bombero Atomico** (The Atomic Fireman), with Cantinflas, Latin America's Charlie Chaplin, April 16-18; **Lluvia Rojo** (Red Rain), based on a prize novel by Jesus Goytortua, on the transformation of a romantic "guerrillo" into a military tyrant, set in the 1923 Huerta revolt, April 23-25.

Showings are at 8:30 and 10:30 pm., Fri., Sat. and Sun. evenings.

MARIA FELIX
In "Rio Escondido"

Mobile Theatre opens Spring acting season

THE Actors Mobile Theatre, producer of such off-Broadway hits as **The Madwoman of Chaillot,** opened the spring semester of its acting studio at 430 Av. of the Americas on April 5.

Joining the theatre as speech teacher and consultant is Harold Blau, for 20 years a speech teacher in N.Y.C. schools, who in 1953 was nominated for a Ford Foundation fellowship. AMT Director Brett Warren has also sent out a call to playwrights for scripts for possible future productions.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

VIVIAN HALLINAN
Mrs. Hallinan, wife of the 1948 Progressive Party candidate for President, will speak in New York at the testimonial dinner for John Abt, PP general counsel, on Wed. eve. Apr. 28 at the Hotel Commodore. The dinner program will focus attention on the 1954 elections.

FESTIVAL SERVICE

Holy Trinity honors Melish

COMMEMORATING the 50th anniversary of the Rev. John Howard Melish's becoming its rector, Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church will hold a festival service Sunday, April 11, at 11 a.m. The preacher will be Dr. Karl Reiland, distinguished former rector of St. George's, Stuyvesant Sq.

Dr. Melish was forced out of Holy Trinity by civil court action at the instance of the diocesan Bishop De Wolfe, because of his support of his son, the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish, now acting minister of the parish. In his early ministry in Cincinnati — which under the "Cox gang" figured prominently in Lincoln Steffens' **Shame of the Cities**—he fought the corrupt city administration for 29 years and was a key factor in the political housecleaning which has led to the present city-management form of government.

All New Yorkers interested in seeing religion play an active part in shaping society will be welcome at the service.

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Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Circus Animals, 2 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10; Animals Unlimited, Animals of the Zoo, 4 p.m., Wed., Apr. 14. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Sat., Apr. 10 program: 11 a.m., Magic Bunny & Live Teddy Bear; 2 p.m., Fallen Eagle; 4 p.m., Nothing But Air & Kentucky Pioneers. Weekdays, Tues.-Fri.: Apr. 13, 4:30 p.m., Robin Red Breast; Apr. 14, 3:45 p.m., Railroadin'; Apr. 15, 11 a.m., Farm Animals & How to Build an Igloo; 2 p.m., Italian Children & Life in an Aquarium; 4 p.m., French Children & Papers; 11 a.m., April 16, Adventure in Telezonia & Flight of Seabirds, 2 p.m., Miracle on Mesa; 4 p.m., Brazil & Care of Pets. Sat., Apr. 17, 11 a.m., Magic Fish & Backward Civilization; 2 p.m., Wool & Cotton; 4 p.m., Black Bear Twins & Rhythm of Africa. Free.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY BRANCHES: Film Programs, 3:30 p.m., Apr. 9 & 15, Leonard Br., 81 Devoe St.; Fiddle-Dee-Dee, Circus Wakes Up & Making a Mask, 2 p.m., Apr 13, Wash. Irving, 360 Irving; Filmstrips, 3 p.m., Fri., Apr. 16, Saratoga, 81 Hopkinson Av. Free.

N.Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. Docum. Films (older children): The Presidency; Supreme Court; The Congress, 2 p.m., Sat., Apr. 17. Free.

Dance & Music

FESTIVAL TIME: PANAMERICA with Josefina Garcia's Pan-American Ensemble and guest artists. (No children under 7). 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10. Free.

WATER FANTASY, presented by the B'klyn Museum Dance Theater for Children, 3 p.m., Wed., Apr. 21. Order tickets in advance. 50c.

HAMLET, presented by the Shakespeare Guild Festival Company for a limited engagement beginning Apr. 19. Jan Hus Auditorium, 351 E. 74th St. Mail & phone orders: Shakespeare Guild Festival, 351 E. 74th St. LE 5-4631.

Plays

ROBIN HOOD, a full length play by Clare Tree Major Children's Theater, B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10. $1.50-60c. ST 3-6700.

SHOEMAKER AND THE ELVES, plus a Mexican Fiesta (songs & dances). Favors for all children. Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan-Duane Church, 201 W. 13th St., at 7th Av. 3 p.m. Sat., Apr. 10. $1.80.-76c. FL 7-6300 or CH 2-5693.

FREDDIE AND HIS FIDDLE, an original fairy tale with an adult cast. Presented by the "Y" Playhouse, Kaufman Auditorium, YM-YWHA, Lex. Av. & 92d St. Sun., Apr. 11, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m.; 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m., Apr. 20-23. $1-$2. Reserv: Educational Dept., YM-YWHA, TR 6-2221. Half price for groups of 20 or more.

THE COBBLER OF FAIRYLAND (Musical), presented by Junior Theater for young people. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Easter Week: 2:15 p.m. Mon. thru Fri., Apr. 19 thru 23d. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40. Less 20% for subscriptions for four shows or groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

Miscellaneous

MAGIC SHOW at Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St, 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 10. Children 10c, adults 60c.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Story hour, 11:30 a.m. Sats. Funny Bunny & Ping (4-6 yrs.), Apr. 10; Happy Easter & Egg Tree, Apr. 17. Live Animal Show, 1:15 p.m. Science demonst: 2:30 p.m., Apr. 10, Air Pressure & Apr. 17, Clothing; Cultural Hist., 3 p.m., Apr. 10, Life in an Indian Longhouse & Apr. 17, Cloth—And How It Is Made; Planetarium Show, 3:30 p.m. Free.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY BRANCHES: Mother Pre-School Groups; Films & talks, Metalcraft, 2 p.m., Tues., Apr. 13, Saratoga, 81 Hopkinson Av.; Reading for Pre-School Child (talk), 2 p.m., Tues., Apr. 13, Highlawn, 1721 W. 6th; What Is New in Children's Books, 10:30 a.m., Apr. 13, New Lots, 847 New Lots Av.; Progress Against Polio—Born in the White House (film), 2 p.m., Apr. 15, Mapleton, 6105 18th Av.; Social Development (talk), 2 p.m., Apr. 15, South Br., 5109 4th Av.

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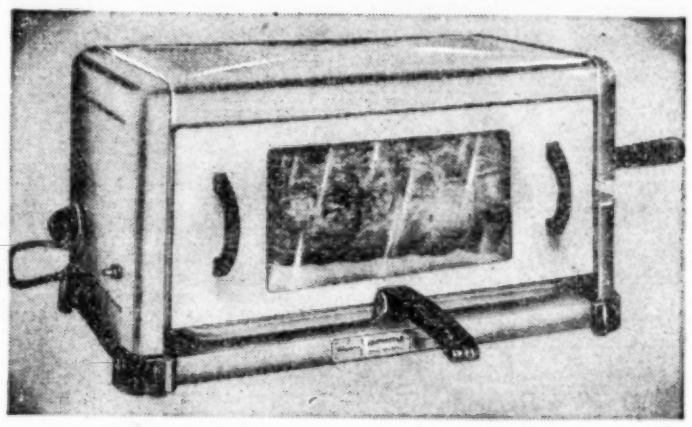

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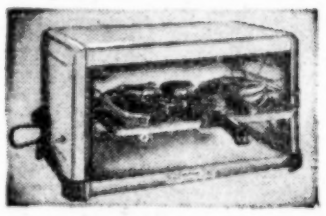

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the SPECTATOR

The Howell Bill — boon to the arts

NEW YORK'S NEW FIRE COMMISSIONER leads a busy life. Just when an off-Broadway theater builds a better show than its uptown neighbors, and the public beats a path to its door, the fire commissioner steps in and calls the place a fire trap. Then, to prove his decision is unbiased, he axes a few more reconditioned basements or oversized parlors which have been functioning as theaters.

Let us have no fire hazards, of course. But what of the hazards to the artists in independent productions who must contend with real estate greed, chaotic competition, antiquated trade union regulations, commercialism, cigarette-money earnings—and now the fire commissioner? Artists in the theater, like the creative people in other fields, do not prosper in our land. Except for the period of the WPA the arts have been kept in a well-preserved state of beggary. The occasional benefactor is likely to resemble Charlie Chaplin's millionaire friend in **City Lights**. He may be good for a buck or for a night's lodging, but there's no telling when he'll turn and kick the art and the artist down the steps, and then the beggar is on the town again.

A CHINK OF LIGHT under the closed door is the Howell Bill (HR 452) now resting in the House Committee on Education and Labor, providing for the establishment of a "National War Memorial Arts Commsision and other purposes." Its chief aim is

> ". . . to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public, and to raise the standard of execution of the fine arts, by professionals and amateurs alike, throughout the Nation."

It would appropriate up to $30,000,000 annually to subsidize the theater, music, drama, the dance, literature, opera, motion pictures, television, radio, sculpture and painting. It's a glorious panorama of scholarships, jobs, projects, performances, instruction and entertainment which would start in Washington at the National War Memorial Theater and opera house, and fan out over the country. Cultural exchange would be promoted even on an international scale.

In his bill Rep. C. R. Howell (D-N. J.) provides for the government to make available to non-profit organizations and institutions space in federal buildings suitable for productions and programs. Even more, in designing future buildings which would normally include auditoriums, government architects would give specific attention to "provision for stage and dressing room facilities, stage lighting and related equipment." Section 20 of the bill states:

> "Congress hereby reaffirms its belief in the essential nature of the contributions being made by the fine arts to the morale, health and general welfare of the Nation, and in the need of taking all possible steps to further encourage the development and increase the stature of fine arts in the U. S."

TO THIS WE CITIZENS say a fervent Amen. It is not necessary to build a federal arts program from a depression up. What the Federal Theater accomplished should be relived, not merely recorded. 32,000 actors and actresses did exactly what the Howell Bill asks: they "increased the accessibility of the fine arts to the public." They took the theater to the people—26,000,000 of them, and these audiences have not forgotten the experience. Neither have the actors. The troupe that played America's biggest celery center, Sanford, Fla., one November, remember how, when they returned the following March, the kids on the street called to them, "Hello Malvolio" and "Hi there, Sir Toby Belch."

If the people press hard enough, the door will open, the Howell Bill may come through, and we can again have a federal arts project. The arrogant dunces who demanded that Christopher Marlowe be subpenaed for his subversive play, gloated when they killed off the Federal Theater in 1939. At that time Lionel Barrymore warned:

> "If I were a Congressman I'd try to remember that the American people have never let anything be taken from them —permanently."

•

Write to your Congressman to support HR 452, and write to Samuel W. McConnell Jr., chairman of the House Committee on Education, Washington, D. C., for action to release this bill.

Reporter just back from China speaks at Guardian Forum Apr. 23

JULIAN SCHUMAN, a newspaperman who has just returned from six years in China, will join the GUARDIAN's own panel of experts, Tabitha Petran and Kumar Goshal, to discuss "China & Indo-China—Peace or War?" at the second Guardian Forum. The date is Friday, April 23, 8:30 p.m., at Adelphi Hall, Room 9B, 74 Fifth Av. Guardian editor Cedric Belfrage will be chairman.

Schuman has reported in China for David Kung's **China Press**, the Chicago **Sun-Times**, the Denver **Post** and John W. Powell's **China Monthly Review**.

Keep April 23 free for this forum, which comes on the eve of the Geneva conference April 26. The forum will discuss the news behind the headlines dealing with today's hottest and most pressing issues. And there will be plenty of time for questions.